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1 cotton tray
1 handbag made of nibi
some kakarelli leaves
3 spindles
1 bow
3 arrows
1 dog with three young pups
1 warakabra bird
3 fish rods
3 fish hooks
1 wooden bench
1 cassiri stirring stick
2 korial paddles
1 axe
1 cornbird

Joseph's house (David's son-in-law)
2 cotton hammocks
5 clay pots
2 cassava sifters
2 cassava squeezers
3 calabashes
1 cassava grater
1 cassava pan
1 cotton tray
1 cutlass
2 bows
4 arrows
1 cassiri kanu
1 violin (obtained from shop)
1 cane mill
2 baskets
1 shoulder bag (of "tiger" skin)
1 walisha
2 maroudi birds
1 dog
1 wooden bench

David's house
3 cotton hammocks
3 maho hammocks
5 clay pots
6 calabashes
3 cassava squeezers
3 dogs
4 walishas
4 baskets
1 cassava grater
some kakarelli leaves
1 warakabra bird
1 bow
2 arrows
1 cassava sifter
some raw cotton
1 cutlass
1 maraka
1 wooden bench

John Cook's house
1 cassava grater
1 cassava trough
2 clay pots
1 drum
1 cassava pan
3 calabashes
3 cotton hammocks
1 bow
2 arrows
2 shoulder bags ("baboon" skin)
some kakarelli leaves
1 violin (home-made of bamboo joint)
3 dogs
some beeswax
1 large fish hook
1 walisha
1 basket
1 cassava squeezer
1 cassava sifter
1 pair trousers
1 singlet
1 cotton dress
1 cutlass
1 axe

422 556 However, I soon came to the conclusion that such a survey shows little if anything of importance to an understanding of the social situation in Sawari. Miller's house contains the largest

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number and the largest variety of items. Also, Miller or the members of his household own some of the most valuable imported items obtained in trade. This condition does to a certain extent reflect Miller's social prominence in the settlement; it may be regarded as a result of his social position, but not as a cause. Those outsiders who have dealings with the settlement (such as traders at Towakaima, the prospector Bell, myself) deal with Miller as the recognized head of the settlement, as the man with greatest influence; and he is therefore enabled to acquire more trade goods than other men. For instance, I required a crew of four men to go down river to Aranka, where I had left my supplies, and return to Sawari carrying a portion of the supplies on their backs. The round-trip journey was a matter of perhaps one hundred miles or about ten days. It was an arduous job, but one for which each of the men would be well paid. Negotiations were started with several men individually, but their enthusiasm was only mildly aroused, even by the prospect of acquiring fine trade goods for themselves and their families. Finally the matter was broached to Miller, who promptly persuaded four young men to undertake the journey as a favor to themselves, to him, and to me. A deal was made between Miller and the men whereby Miller obtained a certain part of the trade goods which each man received as pay, in return for his services in arranging the employment for them. Thus Miller, without making the trip himself, received more goods than any one of the men. But there is no formalization in an arrangement of this kind, which was made, in this case, simply as a personal agreement between Miller and the other men. His social prestige lent a persuasiveness to his words, but, although the consummation of a successful deal of this kind doubtless added something in turn to Miller's personal prestige, there is nothing in his office of headman which enables him to coerce the other members of the settlement. This was illustrated later, when the negro prospector, Bell, requested several laborers of Miller. Although Miller again tried to persuade members of the settlement to take the work, he was in this instance unsuccessful because the men involved considered Bell's trade goods too poor to make the job worth their while.

A mere survey of material possessions among the Caribs indicates a small degree of social importance because in this culture

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556 422 511 the accumulation of wealth has little correlation with social status. There are certain material essentials, which have been described in our chapters on material culture, and these every household must possess if it is to survive. The list of these essentials is not large, as compared with the possessions of more complex cultures; but it must be remembered that the major part of the Carib possessions are really essentials, there are few luxuries in the catalogue of Carib material culture. Thus, the accumulation of essential goods is merely a matter of convenience, the goods have little social connotation in themselves. A man may have two bows, so that he will not be inconvenienced should one break, but he would consider it a foolish waste of time to make a dozen bows. He would have no use for them, and he would add nothing to his prestige (in fact, would damage his reputation for intelligence) in the eyes of his fellows by possessing such a surplus.

556 461 One of the reasons for the surprizingly considerate treatment which Indians receive from outsiders in this region is the fact that the latter have been forced to recognize that beyond a certain point, the mere possession of property means nothing to the Caribs. Every gold digger, lumber operator, and balata bleeder who has traveled on the Barama will tell you of the difficulty he has in keeping his Indian boatmen and laborers at work. "An Indian will work only until he gets what he wants and then he will quit cold," is a common observation. Consequently, anyone who relies on a native crew must depend upon the personal relations which he establishes with his workmen to a larger extent than the trade goods which he can give them.

251 Accumulations of food are likewise of little significance to the Caribs, for two reasons: the climate does not permit prolonged preservation of native food products, and daily supplies of food are readily available to the competent hunter and agriculturist, though not without a certain amount of effort, it is true. Cassava bread is the only food product which can be kept over a period of months, and such preservation is resorted to only in cases of necessity, inasmuch as the flavor of the product is adversely affected by storage.

301 511 A small number of luxuries are held in esteem by the Caribs. Among those which they produce themselves are necklaces of teeth and seeds, cotton fillets, bracelets, and other ornaments.

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There is, however, a limit of personal ornamentation beyond which an individual's movements in dancing and drinking activities are hindered at the expense of sociability. I have never seen a Carib "loaded down" with ornaments, although it would be comparatively simple to accumulate enough teeth, seeds, beads, in a lifetime to cover the body completely from head to foot. Cotton dresses are greatly prized by the women, but two or three such garments are considered quite sufficient. I have known many women who have urged their husbands to work enough to buy cloth for one or two dresses, but who have lost interest after sufficient cloth had been acquired. Men also desire singlets, trousers, and felt hats, but a Carib who has one of each of these in good condition cannot readily be interested in the acquisition of additional outfits.

Tobacco of European manufacture is perhaps the greatest luxury in the region, but I have never observed a tendency to hoard it on the part of those lucky enough to obtain some of this product. Thinking to stem the ceaseless requests for tobacco, I tried the experiment of presenting certain individuals with whole cans of Capstan, only to find that they had wasted it or given it away and were soon begging for more.

The only circumstance in which property factors enter directly into the social situation is that in which a man by reason of laziness becomes a continual borrower from his neighbors. (See section on Crime and Punishment.) If such a man does not reform, he will be eliminated from the social life of the settlement and eventually be forced to take up his residence elsewhere.

Economic activity among the Caribs, then, is based on need. Each family is responsible for itself, and although co-operation in labor and lending of goods is common, the principle of individuality in property remains intact. Accumulation of wealth is of little social importance because one does not need accumulated wealth to fortify or improve one's social position. The reasons for the absence of such need are to be found in the interaction of the culture and the environment.

Let us now turn to the economic activities of the inhabitants of Sawari. In the first place, two different arrangements are in force in regard to agricultural plots. These two types of arrangement are illustrated respectively by the partnership and individual fields.